DICK GREGORY CHARGES GOVERNMENT CONSPIRACY AT JONESTOWN

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Peoples Temple Members Injected With Cyanide

JONES' AIDE WORKED AS MERCENARY IN ANGOLA

(New York, N.Y.) - A top aide to Rev. Jim Jones, sent by the assassinated Peoples Temple leader to Guyana in 1974 to begin the Jonestown settlement, served as a mercenary and mercenary-recruiter in 1975 for the CIA-backed Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

According to an article in the December 15 issue of *Workers World*, the official organ of Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), Phillip Blakey, whose brother-in-law, Larry Layton has been charged with the murders of Congressman Leo Ryan and four others at the Kaituma airport on November 18, returned to Jonestown after his CIA assignment in Angola.

UNITA and the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), which is also financed by the CIA, fought unsuccessfully against the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in 1975 for control of the Angolan government, which won independence from Portugal on November 11, 1975, after an 11-year armed struggle led by the MPLA.

The *Workers World* article, which cited the Black daily newspaper, the *Chicago Defender*, as its source of information, reported that Blakey joined Peoples Temple in 1970 with his wife, the former Deborah Layton, Larry Layton's sister.





The U.S. government murdered American children in Jonestown, Guyana (above) and children of the People's Republic of Angola.

Blakey, who apparently has been separated from his wife since she left Jonestown and Peoples Temple last May, was on the Temple's boat, the Albatross III, when the mass murders at Jonestown occurred. Guyanese sources said that Blakey is now living in Barbados.

In other late December developments regarding the Jonestown genocide:

•A Guyanese coroner's jury ruled that Jim Jones was murdered.

During five days of testimony before the jury, Dr. C. Leslie Mootoo, the Guyana government's chief medical official who examined the Temple leader's body, said that he had been shot to death at point blank range behind his right ear.

Police officials testified that the pistol that killed Jones was found 20 yards from his body, which was cremated in New Jersey on December 19.

•At least 70 Temple members at Jonestown were given injections of cyanide, Guyanese government sources reported. Examinations of the bodies, made shortly after the murders of the over 900 men, women and children, revealed that many of the adults had fresh

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DICK GREGORY CHARGES CONSPIRACY AT JONESTOWN

(San Francisco, Calif.) - A major American military operation was underway in Dover, Delaware — the sprawling military base where the Jonestown genocide victims were brought — one week *prior* to the November 18 tragedy.

In a conversation with members of Peoples Temple here in late November, Black comedian-activist Dick Gregory said that he was in Dover, located 75 miles from Philadelphia, the week before the Guyana mass murders.

Gregory said a friend of his in Dover told him that something "heavy" was going on at the military base.

"Then I checked into a hotel," the renowned Black comedian said, "and I saw all these civilian pilots. I automatically thought their presence meant that something big was about to happen."

Gregory, long a target of government harassment and surveillance because of his outspoken views on conditions of Black and poor people in America, said he immediately left the Dover hotel because the presence of the large number of pilots made him uncomfortable.

The Black entertainer, who has vowed to remain on a hunger strike "until the truth about Jonestown comes out," said that Kool-Aid, with which the Jones-

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BLACK WORKERS FACE LAYOFFS IN CLEVELAND, NEWARK

(Cleveland, Ohio) - As 1978 ended, two U.S cities with large Black populations, Cleveland, Ohio, and Newark, New Jersey, faced severe financial crises. As a result, several thousand Black and poor workers faced layoffs.

Cleveland, the nation's 17th largest city, went into default at midnight, December 15, after it failed to pay $15.5 million in notes demanded by six banks.

The Ohio industrial city is considered the first city since the Great Depression to go bankrupt, but the Cleveland crisis has a more recent precedent, that of the 1975 New York financial crisis, which for all practical purposes amounted to bankruptcy.

Estimates of the city's deficit range from $48 million to $93 million.

In Cleveland, as in New York, banks and corporations are holding a whole city hostage, using the threat of foreclosing to dictate political and fiscal policy.

Meanwhile, in Newark, city workers and residents, angered at the 2,000 job layoffs scheduled for January 1, held a downtown protest rally. Newark's Black mayor, Kenneth Gibson, said in a December 21 open letter to the city's 350,000 residents that the only way Newark could compensate for a loss of $18.8 million in

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Editorial

1984 IS HERE

More than 100 of the ominous predictions George Orwell made in his novel *1984* already have been fulfilled.

David Goodman, writing in *Futurist* magazine, said Americans may feel they are safe from the "Big Brother Is Watching" government Orwell described, but the technology for it already is here — and "triggering incidents" could create the evil social conditions.

Orwell, the pen name of Englishman Eric Blair, wrote his famous novel in 1949, outlining a future in which three superpowers are constantly at war and even thoughts are controlled by a menancing government bent on destroying all signs of individuality.

Studying Orwell, Goodman has compiled a list of 137 predictions Orwell made about science, technology, social conditions and politics and found this year "that over 100 of the predictions had come true."

If there is a "triggering incident," such as nuclear war, he said, such a future would be even more likely.

"A nuclear explosion could easily infuse society with the siege mentality and war hysteria that the Oceania (Mr. Orwell's superpower) government adapts to its purposes," he said.

Among the developments Goodman sees as Orwellian are:

•Mind altering drugs.

•Think tanks dedicated to developing weapons and war strategy.

•Defoiliants used to wipe out huge areas of vegetation, like Agent Orange was used in Viet Nam.

•Psychological treatments designed to modify behavior, including electric shock and truth serums.

•Data banks holding detailed information on thousands of people.

•Self-propelled bombs replacing bombing planes.

•Planes independent of Earth.

•Artificial insemination.

As we reflect on 1978, there is no question that it was a year of intensified repression against Black and poor people in America. The mass genocide at Jonestown was the most glaring example of this repression.

It is 1979, but 1984 is already here. □



Fallen Comrade

FRANK "FRANKO" DIGGS

Assassinated: December 30, 1968



Comrade Frank "Franko" Diggs was the eighth and last member of the Black Panther Party murdered in 1968. The body of Franko, who was 40 at the time of his death, was found in an alley on the outskirts of Los Angeles, after he had been missing for a period of time. Franko was shot to death less than three weeks before Southern California BPP leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins were gunned down by an FBI agent provocateur. Franko was a close aide to Bunchy, and Franko's death was deliberately plotted to facilitate the murder of Bunchy on January 17, 1969.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Comment:

Last Words Of Jonestown Victim

Annie Moore, 24, the nurse of Jim Jones, was found shot to death at Jonestown on November 18. The dum-dum bullets from the .357 magnum said to have been found a foot from her head were so powerful that half her face was blown away.

A notebook containing Ms. Moore's thoughts about Jonestown, words written shortly before her murder, was found near her body. As the excerpts printed below reveal, the people at Jonestown died because they had created a way of life that was a direct threat to the U.S. government.

"It seems that some people — and perhaps the majority of people — would like to destroy the best thing that has ever happened to the 1,200 or so of us who have followed Jim Jones.

"It seems that everything good that happens to the world is under constant attack. When I write this I can expect some mentally fascist person to find it and decide it should be thrown in the trash before anyone gets a chance to hear the truth — which is what I am writing about.

"Where can I begin — Jonestown — the most peaceful loving community that ever existed. Jim Jones, the one who made this paradise possible.

"I want you who read this to know Jim was the most honest — caring concerned person whom I ever met and knew.

"His hatred of racism, sexism, elitism, and mainly — classism is what prompted him to make a new world for people — a paradise in the jungle. The children loved it, so did everyone else.

"There were no ugly, mean police waiting to beat our heads in. No more racist stares from Whites and others who thought they were better.

"The United States allows classism — the problem being this and not all the sidetracks of Black power, woman power, Indian Power, gay power.

"Jim Jones showed us all this — that we could live together with our differences." □

The Black Panther

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The F.B.I. Plot Against Black Leaders

Beginning in 1967, the FBI launched a systematic campaign to spy on, harass, discredit and murder Black American leaders, among them Huey P. Newton, Malcolm X, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the late Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

Part 3 of the following article, excerpted from a longer piece written by Iris L. Washington for the October, 1978, issue of Essence *magazine, details the vicious FBI conspiracy.*

PART 3

In a November, 1968 memo instructing 14 field offices to submit biweekly letters containing counterintelligence measures against the Party, FBI director Hoover wrote:

"In order to fully capitalize upon BPP and US differences as well as to exploit all avenues of creating further dissension in the ranks of the BPP, recipient offices are instructed to submit imaginative and hard-hitting counterintelligence measures aimed at crippling the BPP."

John Huggins and Alprentice (Bunchy) Carter, leaders of the Southern California Chapter of the BPP in Los Angeles, were murdered on January 17, 1969 based on this directive. Huggins and Carter were shot in the back by members of US (the murderers were convicted, but later mysteriously escaped from prison and haven't been seen since.

The Panthers received letters and cartoons caricatures, supposedly from US but actually from the FBI, depicting the manner in which Panthers would be killed by US members.

Senate investigators found that the FBI's tactic was to aggravate conflicts between the Black Panthers and rival groups, that the FBI tried to encourage those groups to shoot some or all of the leadership of the Panthers and that the FBI letters generated the kind of friction that would induce killing.

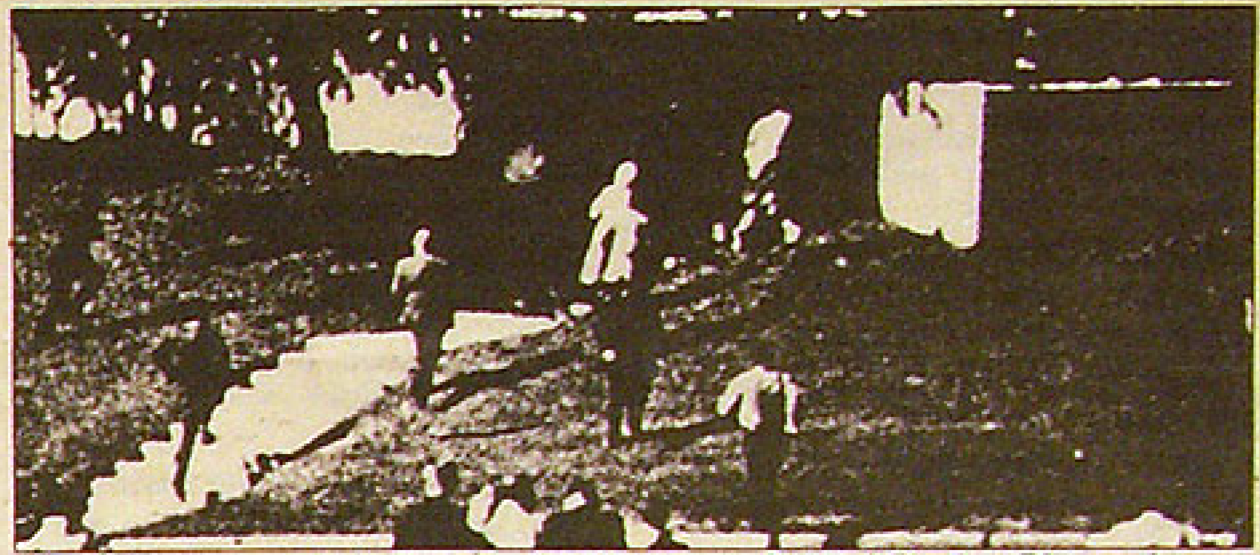
Another kind of tactic employed by the Bureau is illustrated by a memo from FBI files subsequently made public. It reveals a scheme originating from the Newark, New Jersey, FBI office proposing that food to be donated to a Panther gathering be treated with a laxative.

The story of surveillance, subversion and destruction is

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NORTHWEST ASSASSINATION RESEARCH COMMITTEE EXPOSES COVERUP OF 1963 MURDER

WATERGATE BURGLARS, ROCKEFELLERS LINKED TO KENNEDY SLAYING



People run toward the grassy knoll area in Dallas' Dealey Plaza where they heard shots following John F. Kennedy's assassination on November 22, 1963.

(Washington, D.C.) - The House Assassinations Committee was forced to order "emergency" hearings in late December to study alleged new evidence of possible mystery gunmen being involved in the murder of President John F. Kennedy.

Committee sources said that new scientific evidence shows that a shot fired from the grassy knoll in Dealy Plaza 15 years ago landed in or near Kennedy's car.

"It seemed to have stopp in the Presidential limousine," one source said.

Michigan Congressman Harold Sawyer said that the new finding indicates "beyond a reasonable doubt" that four shots were fired at the Kennedy motorcade in Dallas on November 22, 1963.

"We've established that there was a conspiracy," said Sawyer. "If we can't identify the second gunman, that's because its 15 years later."

Meanwhile, an eight second film, shown to journalists and researchers, showed the presence of more than one person in the windows of the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Repository building in downtown Dallas minutes before Kennedy was killed.

The film was sent to Robert Groden, a photography technician, who said that "it is beyond question" that there were two figures moving at the double window.

The so-called "emergency" hearings were prompted by the work of the San Francisco-based Northwest Assassination Research Committee (NARC) and other researchers who have exposed the cover-up in the JFK assassination.

Over the last four years the NARC has compiled important evidence in the Kennedy murder, including pictures of two so-called tramps who were found hiding in a train boxcar on the tracks that run adjacent to the grassy knoll alongside the assassination site.

NARC's photographic analysis of the picture of the tramps proved that the men were E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis, both convicted Watergate burglars. Hunt and Sturgis are highly skilled assassins, who were trained by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). The fact that Sturgis and Hunt were found next to the same grassy knoll that virtually all the witnesses to the murder maintain the shots that killed Kennedy came from, points unmistakably to their complicity.

Sturgis is a notorious CIA agent who penetrated Cuban revolutionary forces led by Fidel Castro. Sturgis, in fact, was once a close aide to Castro.

Witnesses to the Dallas murder, including J.C. Pierce, saw someone running "with something that could have been a gun," in the direction of the railroad tracks from behind the picket fence atop the grassy knoll.

Many witnesses also reported seeing puffs of smoke rising from behind the picket fence.

One person who ran up the grassy knoll was Seymour Weitzman of the Dallas Police Department. He recalled being turned back by a man who identified himself as a Secret Service agent, assuring Weitzman that his men had the area covered.

Interviewed by Michael Canfield, co-author with one A.J. Weberman of *Coup d'Etat In America*, Weitzman said that he recognized the mysterious Secret Service agent when the Watergate case began to surface.

Newspaper photographs revealed the man to be another convicted Watergate burglar (and longtime friend of Richard Nixon), Bernard Barker.

Nixon, after first claiming a lapse of memory denied to the FBI that he was in Dallas on the day of the Kennedy murder. Research of the NARC, however, uncovered a *Dallas Morning News* article of November 22, 1963, which carried a picture story reporting that Nixon had stayed at the Baker Hotel, located six blocks from the spot where Kennedy was assassinated. The Pepsi-Cola Company had allegedly rented the whole third floor of the hotel for a convention.

Ten years later, in the November, 1973, issue of *Esquire* magazine, Nixon admitted having been in Dallas, but hastened to add that he left before noon when Kennedy was killed. Nixon's story was that he was on a one-day business trip representing Pepsi-Cola at the convention. But his legal office had no such entry on his itinerary at that time, and no such "convention" was ever found to have actually taken place.

According to the NARC, at the time of the Kennedy assassination, Nixon was a member of the Rockefeller family-dominated Council on Foreign Relations. He worked closely with E. Howard Hunt in coordinating the Cuban Bay of Pigs invasion for the CIA.

Nixon was also part of the Mudge, Rose Guthrie, Alexander and John N. Mitchell (former U.S. attorney general) Wall Street law firm representing the Rockefellers' Chase Manhattan Bank. Mitchell was New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller's personal lawyer.

From 1962 to 1968 Nixon shared a floor of 810 Fifth Avenue in New York City with Nelson Rockefeller, and it was from this compex that the two men dictated the 1968 Republican Convention platform in Chicago.

By the time of his assassination, Kennedy had indicated that he might withdraw U.S. troops out from South Vietnam rather than get America involved in a full scale war. Such a move would have seriously threatened future Rockefeller investments in Southeast Asia.

Anyone wishing a copy of the NARC's special report on the Kennedy assassination may send a check or money order for $1.00 to the Northwest Assassination Research Committee, P.O. Box 42644, San Francisco, California 94101, or call (415) 567-1651. ☐

BLACK YOUTH HOLD MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR CLASSMATES KILLED IN GUYANA

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Students at Opportunity II High School here held a moving memorial service in December for over 100 of their fellow classmates who were murdered by the U.S. government at Jonestown, Guyana.

Leading Black Panther Party member Ericka Huggins and Opportunity II principal Yvonne Golden were among those who addressed the predominantly Black youth at the memorial service.

Displaying a copy of the December 2-15, 1978, issue of THE BLACK PANTHER newspaper which focused on the U.S. government conspiracy to destroy Peoples Temple and Jonestown, Ericka told the students that Black people have struggled to survive in whatever they could since they were first brought to America as slaves.

"It's just not in our nature to commit suicide. Would you kill your baby? Would you kill your brother? Would you watch your momma die?" Ericka asked.

The students replied with a firm "no."

Yvonne described the Peoples Temple youth who attended Opportunity II as "happy, very brilliant, concerned about the future, highly motivated and extremely responsible.

"This school is better for their having passed through," she added.

In an interview with THE BLACK PANTHER held after the memorial service, Yvonne responded angrily to a *San Francisco Examiner* article with the headline "Opportunity II High: The School Peoples Temple Chose."

The vicious newspaper article attempted to portray Opportunity II High as a "last resort" institution for students who couldn't make the grade anywhere else.

"Jim Jones chose Opportunity II for People's Temple children because he liked our program," Yvonne insisted.

Asked her opinion on why the *Examiner* attacked the highly respected San Francisco high school, Yvonne, a longtime local Black activist, said she believed the article was partially meant as a personal attack on her. Yvonne is an outspoken critic of racism in San Francisco public schools.

"The article is a dirt-digging, witch hunting kind of thing," she said.

"Opportunity II was no more a Peoples Temple school than any other school. These children had a right to an education, and I don't think they should be discriminated against because they were Peoples Temple members."

Yvonne, who was a personal friend of Jim Jones, said that she "unequivocally" refuses to believe that such a large number of Black people would commit suicide.

"If anyone reads the history of Black folks," she said, "we have managed to survive, regardless."

Continuing, she insisted that "the most important part of this entire tragedy is the fact that this country did not provide the kind of hope, caring or humaneness for its people that would cause such a large number of people to give up their roots and go to another country to live. It's a very sad state of affairs.

"I want to know what happened at Jonestown," Yvonne declared. "I want a thorough investigation because there are too many unanswered questions."□



Leading BPP member ERICKA HUGGINS (left) and Opportunity II High School principal YVONNE GOLDEN addressed students at memorial service for youth who died at Jonestown.





BPNS photos

F.B.I. Plot

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

much the same with other Black groups of the sixties. Only the names are different — the Revolutionary Action Movement, Republic of New Africa, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and others.

The FBI infiltrated, disrupted, raided and arrested the ranks of these groups so that most of the leaders ended up in prison (many are still in prison or on trial), exiled or bought off by the FBI.

Up from a bitter and turbulent childhood in which his father was hacked to pieces, his mother committed to an insane asylum and their home burned to the ground, through his young manhood in the slums of Boston and New York deeply involved with underworld figures, numbers running, dope pushing, pimping women and burglarizing for a living, emerged one of our most eloquent and dynamic leaders, Malcolm X.

For 12 years Malcolm X devoutly served the Nation of Islam (now the World Community of Islam in the West) and the late Elijah Muhammad, believing him to be the messenger of his God, Allah. Malcolm even stated publicly that he would lay down his life for Muhammad.

In time though, his rise to national prominence as first national minister of the Nation of Islam caused a schism between the two men. Envy and jealousy arose within the organization and there was talk that Malcolm was trying to build an empire for himself. **TO BE CONTINUED**

NEWARK

CONTINUED FROM COVER

federal anti-recession money was to lay off 440 members of the city's workforce.

In addition, the Newark Board of Education, also faced with a budget deficit, sent pink slips to some 1,750 of its 8,000 employees, including full-time teachers and substitutes.

Although Newark has a nine million dollar surplus in its $230 million budget, a New Jersey law prevents municipalities from increasing spending by more than five per cent a year.

BIG CITY MAYOR

Cleveland Mayor Dennis Kucinich, at 32 the nation's youngest big city mayor, who recently narrowly survived a recall campaign led by the corporations and other right-wing interests in the city, is one of the targets of the banks' attack on Cleveland. Kucinich, whose removal was backed by the majority of the city's Black population, is generally considered a liberal.

The Trust Company, which holds the majority of the city's $15.5 million in outstanding debts, has demanded the sale of the city-owned Municipal Lighting Plant — which sells power to approximately one-fifth of the city's residents at cut-rates — to the privately owned Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company (CEI). CEI is seeking a total utility monopoly in Cleveland.

A number of members of the Cleveland Trust Company Board of Directors also sit on the board of CEI.

"This is blackmail," Kucinich fumed, charging the banks with "sabotaging" the city's attempts to stave off bankruptcy.

Until the present fiscal crisis, Kucinich had refused to even consider the sale of Municipal Light. The mayor maintained that the existence of the system "was a check against rate hikes by the private power firms serving most of the metropolitan area," the *San Francisco Examiner* reports.

Cleveland is one of the lowest taxed cities in the Northeast, and big business is desperately seeking to change that situation by attempting to force the poor working people of Cleveland to bear an even greater burden of the city's financial crisis, through increased taxation and increased fees for services.

BANK ONSLAUGHT

In the face of the bank onslaught, Kucinich was forced to call for a 50 per cent increase from one to 1.5 per cent in the income tax, and the layoff of some 2,000 city workers on January 2.

The city council has agreed to call a special election February 27 to ask Cleveland voters to approve the proposed increase in the city income tax and decide whether the city should sell its debt-ridden Municipal Light Plant.□

Iranian Revolutionary Leader Demands Withdrawal Of U.S.

(Tehran, Iran) - The Iranian people, who are revolting against the U.S.-backed regime of Shah Reza Pahlavi, won a major victory as 1978 closed out, with over 60,000 striking oil workers forcing a halt of all petroleum exports from the country, normally one of the world's largest oil producers.

Oil production in Iran fell to its lowest level in 26 years, with 600,000-700,000 barrels produced a day in comparison with the normal 6.5 million barrels daily.

Anti-shah protesters, hundreds of whom were shot and killed by government troops, took to the streets by the thousands and burned at least two dozen police and government vehicles on December 26. Hundreds wore signs reading, "The struggle will end this weekend."

Revolutionary forces in Iran are demanding the overthrow of the shah and the establishment of an Islamic government. Below, THE BLACK PANTHER presents excerpts of an interview conducted in September, 1978 by French Radio and Television with Ayatullah Khumayni, the revered Moslem leader who states that foreign domination of Iran must end.

QUESTION: What is your concept of an Islamic government? Is it your intention that the religious leaders themselves should head the government? By what stages will such a government be realized?

KHUMAYNI: No, our intention is not that the religious leaders should themselves administer the state, but that they should guide the people in determining what the demands of Islam are. Since the overwhelming majority of the people are Muslim, an Islamic government will enjoy their support and be firmly based on the people.

In the first stage, the aim will be to render the country independent and to remove all kinds of external domination as well as control by internal elements that rely on foreign powers. Every form of domination — political, military, cultural and economic — will be brought to an end, and all imperialists and exploiters will be expelled, of whatever type they may be.

The wealth and resources of the country will be assigned to the suffering people who are now submerged in poverty and sickness and have been afflicted with

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TENG NAMED TIME MAGAZINE "MAN OF THE YEAR"

NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH PEOPLE'S CHINA TO WIN BILLIONS IN PROFITS FOR U.S.



President JIMMY CARTER (left) and Chinese Deputy Prime Minister TENG HSIAO-PING.

(Washington, D.C.) - The underlying motive of the U.S.' historic decision to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China is directly linked to America's desire to exploit the resources of the world's largest populated country.

In early December, China signed a $14 billion trade agreement with France. The seven-year pact was the second major trade package between China and a capitalist country since the death of its great revolutionary leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in October 1976. In February, 1978, China and Japan approved an eight-year $20 billion agreement.

Shortly after the French accord, seven British banks signed agreements giving China $1.2 billion in "credit" to develop its industries.

In November, West German companies won a major $14.5 billion contract from China to build one of the largest steel mill complexes in the world in Hopei province, near the capital of Peking.

The U.S. is moving ahead rapidly to cash in on a crash program to explore agreements in agriculture and major investments by American multinational corporations in China, a byproduct of normalizing relations. U.S. Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal and Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps will visit China in February to explore prospects for American businesses.

The key factor in the vastly expanding trade between China and the capitalist world since Mao's death is the tremendous technological superiority of the West in general and the U.S. in particular.

America and its economic partners are now reaping huge profits from exploitation of their technological advancement and, in the process, seriously undermining China's socialist development.

China and other Third World countries, in the course of their socialist development, have focused on expelling and nationalizing Western multinational corporations. Current Chinese leaders, however, have recently deviated from this path by sacrificing the country's ban on foreign private investments as part of its class modernization program.

Industrial development is an essential component of the modernization program for which China is seeking advanced technology.

A general factory in Harvin province uses lathes, punch presses, and milling machines built three decades ago in Eastern Europe. Energy remains scarce (on a per capita basis, China produces about the same amount of electricity as Zaire and transportation bottlenecks are so commonplace, that many factories are forced to close down three days out of ten.

Japan builds 94 cars per worker per year; in China, the comparable figures are one car-one worker. Steel, the essential building block for heavy industry, remains a precious metal.

Japan's Nippon Steel Corporation, the world's largest steel producer, reached an agreement in December with China to provide about $2.03 billion in equipment to build what the company described as "China's first fully modernized steel complex."

The deal was the largest by any country with China.

The Irvine, California-based Fluor Corporation announced recently that it had won an $800 million contract from China to design and manage development of the largest copper mine in the world.

The deal closely follows an announcement that Bethlehem Steel Corporation will build an iron-ore mine in China at an estimated cost of $100 million. A New York-based shipping and finance company subsequently revealed a deal valued at about $135 million to help set up a national communications and data processing system and has proposed building hotels in five Chinese cities and in Tibet.

Intercontinental Hotels will build five or six 1,000 room hotels in China for about $50 million, while Hyatt International has announced an $800 million project to construct 10,000 hotel rooms.

Two days before President Carter announced the normalization of relations with China, the Coca Cola company said it wil resume the sale of cokes in China in January and plans to build several bottling plants on the Chinese mainland.

The biggest potential area of investment in China for U.S. firms is petroleum technology and development. Six U.S. oil companies have been negotiating to help develop China's offshore oil reserves at a cost of about $50 billion.

Following his recent visit to China, Energy Secretary James Schlesinger encouraged the U.S. oil and coal industry, to help set up 18 mines, processing plants and equipment factories in China.

WESTERN FIRMS

China has begun to sign contracts with Western firms to set up joint venture factories in the country that will allow the use of cheap Chinese workers who are paid about $25 a month to make women's sportswear and men's corduroy suits.

Changes are apparently underway in industrial organizations because one of China's most prominent theoreticians, Hua Chiao-mu said recently, "The proletariat must learn from the bourgeoise."

In late December the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party approved the "rehabilitation" of many former Party members who were purged for opposing Mao's socialist economic policies during the great proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Countless CCP members purged during the Cultural Revolution, which reached its height during the late 1960's, have been restored to power in the provinces and in the CPP leading bodies. □

JONES' AIDE WORKED AS MERCENARY

CONTINUED FROM COVER

injection marks high on their upper arms just below the shoulder in an area where the marks could not have been self-inflicted.

•Several bottles of drugs found at Jonestown that were labeled "valium" actually contained cyanide.

•Among the other drugs found were Pentothol No. 1, a truth serum, and morphine sulfate. Both drugs, along with chloral hydrate, a hypnotic drug, thorazine and demerol, which were also discovered at the Guyanese settlement, have been used by the CIA's notorious "MK-ULTRA" behavior control project. Demerol is known to produce feelings of extreme anxiety and fear in human beings.

•A top Guyanese government official, criticizing U.S. media coverage of the Jonestown slaughter, said that the press should be concerned about "why all these disenfranchised people left the richest, most developed nation in the world to come to an underdeveloped jungle to start a new life for themselves."

•Joseph E. Hall, president of the San Francisco Chapter of the NAACP, was fired by the local membership recently because of his support for Jones and Peoples Temple.

According to the *New York Times*, Blakey's father-in-law, Laurence Layton, is a well known scientist who was director of chemical warfare at the U.S. Army's Dugway Proving Ground in the early 1950's where he helped to develop nerve gas.

SCIENTISTS

An article in the December 2-15 issue of THE BLACK PANTHER reported that scientists who worked on the MK-ULTRA project — which originated in southern California — said that the CIA has perfected drugs enabling entire populations to be mentally disabled through contamination of their water supply.

An official of the NAACP branch of East Palo Alto, California — the hometown of several Jonestown victims — voiced the belief of thousands of people

"No one can make me buy that lie ("mass suicide")," declared Ruth Singleton.□

JONESTOWN CONSPIRACY

CONTINUED FROM COVER

town victims were allegedly poisoned to death, is made by General Foods, whose national headquarters is in Dover, Delaware.

Gregory raised several questions pointing to the blatant discrepancies in the government's story about what happened at Jonestown.

Discussing the television film shot by NBC cameraman Bob Brown minutes before he, Congressman Leo Ryan and three other people were killed by gunmen at the Kaituma airstrip near Jonestown, Gregory said, "Every time this government makes a hit, there's a film made.

"A film was made to show that Lee Harvey Oswald shot President Kennedy so that no one would think anything else about it," the comedian-activist said. He added, "When you know what this government is doing and you watch it closely, you can start to see things that don't make sense."

Gregory raised the question of why the NBC film made at the airstrip wasn't destroyed by the gunmen. "You're not going to tell me that they came and put a gun to their heads, blew their brains out and didn't destroy the camera and take the film," he said.

Gregory believes Brown did not shoot the film, but that it was created by the government "as *an aide to convince us*. They (gunmen) went there expressly to kill the people with the information about Jonestown," Gregory charged.

Concerning the government lie that the Jonestown victims committed mass suicide by drinking Kool-Aid "laced with cyanide," the Black entertainer maintained, "You cannot make 13- and 14-year-old children kill themselves."

DEAD DOG

Pictures taken of the mass murder scene in Guyana showed a picture of a dead dog. "Dogs do not drink Kool-Aid," Gregory said. "Some commandos came in, dropped some kind of gas on the people and then did what they wanted to their bodies."

"Something so big was going on in Jonestown that had it gotten out," Gregory said, "all hell would have broken loose. The government had no choice but to go in there and close it down and wipe out everybody."

Emphasizing his firm belief that the Guyanese settlement was destroyed as the result of a U.S. government conspiracy, Gregory said, "Jonestown is big. It's everybody. I don't know if it's going to take a week, 10 years or 20 years for the truth to come out. I don't know how or where it's going to come out, but it's going to come out."□

WORLD PERSPECTIVE

U.S. Prepares For Nuclear War

(Washington, D.C.) - The Carter administration and the Pentagon are preparing a strategy for nuclear war, according to a recent *New York Times* article. The White House supports the concept that America could survive a "limited nuclear war". The concept has its origin in nuclear warfare research conducted by the Pentagon that undoubtedly involves the neutron bomb. While Pentagon officials claim that deaths from a limited nuclear war could be "held" to 92 million, technology exists to produce a 1,000 megaton bomb which could wipe out six western states.

U.S. Helicopters Smuggled

(Washington, D.C.) - Eleven U.S.-made helicopters have been smuggled into Rhodesia to reinforce the Ian Smith regime's losing war against Patriotic Front forces. Even if the manufacturer originally sold the helicopters to a third country, U.S. laws forbid the transfer of military equipment to third parties. United Nations embargoes also prevent sales of military equipment to the illegal White minority regime. A Rhodesian government official confirmed that the Rhodesian Air Force is using U.S. helicopters equipped exactly like those used in Vietnam. In the last months of 1978, illegal shipments of oil, jets and other resources badly needed by the Rhodesian government have been discovered.

Black Activists Sentenced

(Paris, France) - Four U.S. Black activists, known as the Fleury 4, were tried and sentenced in a French court here after successfully fighting extradition to the U.S. on 1972 hijacking charges, *Workers World* reports. Jean and Melvin McNair, Joyce Tillerson and George Brown, who hijacked a plane from Detroit to Algiers, Algeria, to flee U.S. racism, were sentenced to five years, with two years of the sentences suspended for the women. The defense of the Fleury 4 involved hours of testimony by the defendants on police brutality, poverty, racism and oppression in the U.S. During the extradition hearings, the French court found that the hijacking was a political action and not a crime.

Right-Wingers Win "Election"

(Johannesburg, South Africa) - The pro-South African Democratic Turnhalle Alliance party was declared the winner of the recent "elections" in Namibia. The official results showed that the alliance, headed by White rancher Dirk Mudge and consisting of 11 different tribal and racial groups, polled 268,130 out of the 326,264 votes cast. This gives the alliance 41 of the 50 seats in a constituent assembly that was due to meet in late December. The elections were held in defiance of the United Nations, which plans U.N.-supervised elections in the territory with all political groups in Namibia participating. The elections were boycotted by the South-West Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), which is recognized by the U.N. as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Post-Bakke Ruling Hits Oakland

(Oakland, Calif.) - The California Court of Appeals, in deciding a class action suit brought against the Oakland Fire Department (OFD) by Black firefighters, has ruled that it is illegal to set quotas to correct past discrimination against minorities. A panel of three judges, citing the U.S. and California Supreme Court Bakke decision, ruled that even though there is proven racism in the OFD, quotas are allegedly in violation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment. The appellate court decision overturned a 1975 ruling which held that "affirmative relief" was necessary to correct discriminatory hiring and promotion practices in the OFD.

Ailing Synanon Founder Jailed

(Lake Havasu City, Ariz.) - Charles Dederich, the 65-year-old founder of Synanon, was taken to a jail cell at Mohave General Hospital in late December by Kingman County sheriffs. Even though Dederich had been under a negotiated house arrest due to his failing health, the sheriffs raid was unannounced and included jamming the phones and detaining a Synanon attorney. Dederich was arrested in November for his alleged role in a rattlesnake attack on attorney Paul Morantz and was charged with conspiracy to commit murder.






SPECIAL FEATURE: THE ATROCITY OF EDUCATION

THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
25¢

B.P.P. Leader To Appeal False Gun Charges

HUEY CLEARED OF CALLINS' BEATING, BUT JAILED BY VENGEFUL JUDGE

1978: A YEAR OF VICTORIES FOR THE B.P.P.

(Oakland, Calif.) - The legal triumphs of Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton, highlighted by his acquittal on trumped-up charges of beating up Black tailor Preston Callins, made 1978 a year of victory for the 12-year-old BPP.

At the beginning of the year, the Party organized a successful strike of Black tenants at Oakland's La Peralta apartments. The dilapidated La Peralta is owned by well known White millionaire/author William Nickerson, and the BPP's organizing activities were instrumental in exposing the corruption of Nickerson and the overall inhumane housing conditions Black and poor people in America are forced to endure.

In May of last year, Party member Johnny Larry Spain, who was unjustly convicted in 1976 in the San Quentin 6 case, filed a brief in the U.S. Court of Appeals demanding reversal of his conviction on conspiracy and murder charges in connection with the August 21, 1971, assassination of BPP Field Marshal George Jackson.

The federal government, ever bent on the destruction of the BPP, heightened its campaign against the Party in 1978. The thousands of dollars of bail the Party was forced to pay to keep Huey out of jail, as well as the tremendous legal expenses for his trials, drained Party finances considerably. As a result, THE BLACK PANTHER *Intercommunal News Service*, the Party's official organ, was forced to change from weekly to biweekly publication and to decrease its size from 28 to 16 pages.

The attack on the Party newspaper, however, brought an outpouring of support from across the country. The December 2-15 issue of the paper in which the Party charged the U.S. government with committing mass genocide at Jonestown, Guyana, drew national attention because of its in-depth reporting exposing the government conspiracy against Peoples Temple.

Over 4,000 peole turned out for a May Day Rally for Full Employment and Justice for Huey P. Newton, which featured a surprise appearance by Black comedian-activist Dick Gregory.

As Party leader, Huey continued to be the target of intensive police harassment in 1978. In addition to the trumped-up Callins' trial, the BPP founder was also falsely charged with assault to commit murder in an incident that took place at Santa Cruz, California, where he is studying for a Ph.D. The charges were subsequently dropped because the alleged victim admitted that he was drunk and had started a fight with Huey.

One of the distinct highlights of the year was Huey's presentation of his Ph.D. colloquium at the University of California, Santa Cruz. In a brilliant speech, the BPP chief theoretician, who is seeking a doctorate in the history of consciousness, charged that Western empirical thought is "gibberish."

Following the publication of a vicious, slanderous article on the BPP in *New Times* magazine, the Party filed a $6.5 million lawsuit against the magazine and the authors of the article, Kate Coleman and Paul Avery.

In mid-year, the Party joined a Los Angeles community group in demanding a Congressional investigation of the 1965 assassination of Malcolm X.

The model, elementary Oakland Community School (OCS) began its eighth year of providing quality education to Black and poor children in September. The idea for the OCS, which is administered by Educational Oppor-

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE


• JONES: "THE C.I.A. IS CONTROLLING MY THOUGHTS" •

THE BLACK PANTHER
INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED BIWEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY
25¢

JONESTOWN: "WE HAVE TASTED TOTAL EQUALITY"

JIM JONES: "ALL MY THOUGHTS ARE COMING FROM THE C.I.A."







(Top to bottom) May Day BPP rally; HUEY P. NEWTON delivers Ph.D. colloqium address; BLACK PANTHER newspaper on Huey's acquittal in the Preston Callins' case; children of Oakland Community School; Huey with attorney MICHAEL KENNEDY; Huey with OCS children at press conference announcing lawsuit against New Times *magazine; and historic BPP newspaper on Jonestown massacre.*

GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT, JONESTOWN HIT AMERICA IN 1978

(Oakland, Calif.) - Conditions for Black and poor people worsened considerably in the United States in 1978. Nationwide unemployment rose to 7.5 per cent. Minority unemployment jumped to 12.4 per cent while Black teenagers suffered an unemployment rate of nearly 50 per cent. The passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" bill was expected to bring little or no relief.

In Oakland, California, Mayor Lionel Wilson launched an ambitious "Hire Oakland" campaign to gain jobs for Black and poor people, but local White businessmen refused to go along with the Black mayor's program.

Instead of Oakland becoming a model of employment, in 1978 the port city gained nationwide attention when it was exposed that East Oakland has the second highest infant mortality rate in the country. The Black Panther Party joined with several other community organizations to demand that local officials provide the funds necessary to alleviate the problem.

The passage of Proposition 13 in California provided the spark for a nationwide "tax revolt." Not only did Prop. 13 and its counterparts throughout the country cause increased unemployment, but thousands of daycare centers, schools and hospitals were forced to close.

1978 was the year of the longest coal strike in American history. The militant rank and file miners wanted improved safety measures in the mines and a fully paid health plan. Union leadership, however, accepted a government compromise that makes wildcat strikes virtually impossible and only partially covers health care.

Prisons were in constant upheaval throughout the year as overcrowding and inhumane conditions forced predominantly Black and poor inmates to continuously rebel from California to Georgia to Illinois.

Numerous right-wing laws and legal decisions were made in 1978. A total of 11 pieces of repressive legislation, known as H.R.9054, was considered that would eliminate all Indian treaties and take away the few remaining Indian lands. In protest, thousands of Native Americans and their supporters marched on a six-month Longest Walk from California to Washington, D.C.

Meanwhile, the U.S. Supreme Court handed down the infamous Bakke decision, declaring racial quotas to be un-Constitutional as a smokescreen to undermine affirmative action and open admission programs for Blacks and minorities on college campuses.

Black Panther Party President Huey P. Newton charged that the Bakke case was a false issue. "We should not even have to discuss whether Bakke (a White engineer) should go to medical school. We should be happy that he would want to go because everyone should be able to go, especially because of the poor medical health of the country," Huey said.

Following its Bakke ruling, the high court agreed to hear the case of Brian Weber, who has charged that he was the victim of "reverse discrimination" at a Kaiser Aluminum plant in Louisiana. The Weber case challenges the right of unions to negotiate affirmative action programs to overcome employer discrimination in hiring and advancement. The case is far more dangerous than Bakke since it affects millions of poor workers instead of just college students.

Black Congressman Charles Diggs of Michigan was indicted and subsequently convicted of payroll padding. Although Diggs was overwhelmingly re-elected in November to his seat, he was forced to give up his two House committee chairmanships. Meanwhile, White members of Congress convicted in the South Korea payoff scandal only received "reprimands."

Of all the U.S. government actions in 1978, none was as ruthless as the Jonestown mass genocide.

The destruction of Peoples Temple was a direct attack on the liberation struggle of Black and poor people in America. By murdering over 900 people who left the oppression of America to establish a new society in a foreign country, the American government served notice that it will no longer tolerate organizations such as Peoples Temple, the Black Panther Party and other groups seeking freedom in this country. □

B.P.P. VICTORIES

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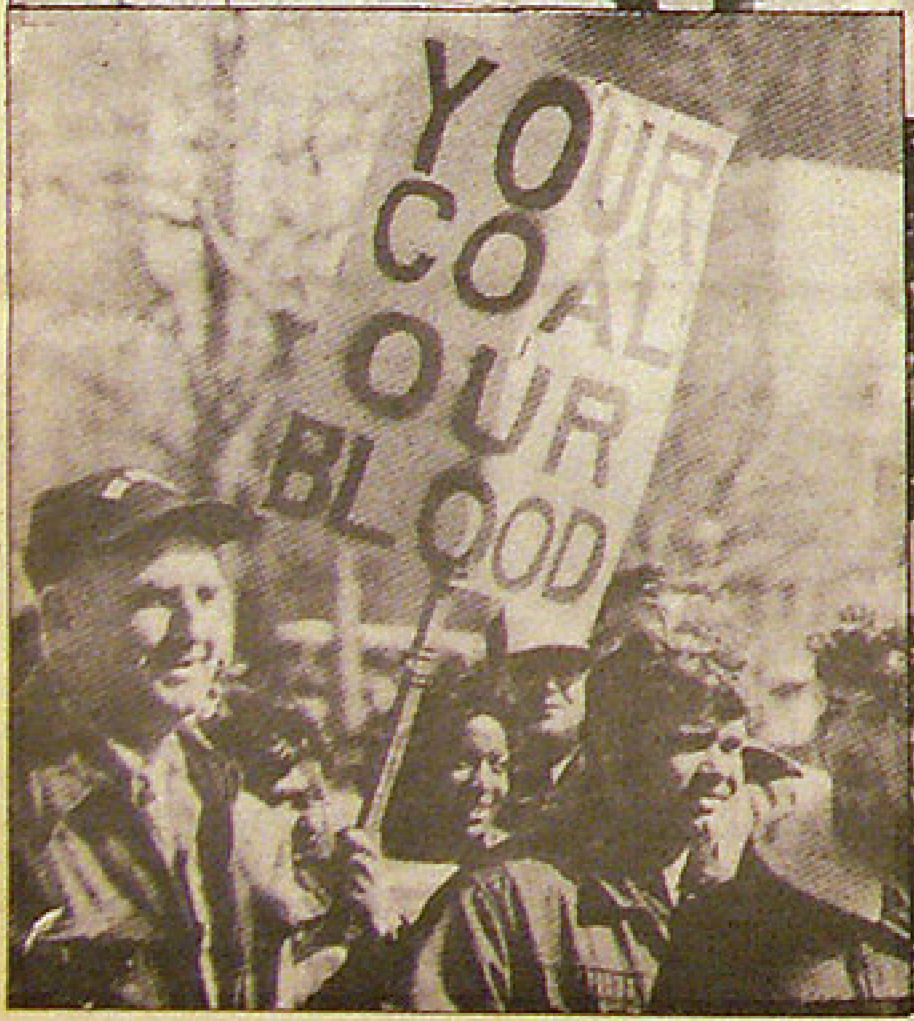
tunities Corporation (EOC), was conceived by Huey in 1971 out of his concern that Black and poor children receive an education free of the racism that dominates the U.S. public school system.

Although cleared of the Callins' beating, Huey was found guilty on two charges of being an ex-felon in possession of a weapon, charges that he is now appealing. He was forced to spend 35 days in jail before being released on $50,000 bail. □



BPNS photo

Leading BPP member ERICKA HUGGINS (left), coal miners protest unsafe ers protest unsafe working conditions and anti-Bakke demonstration in Washington, D.C.





1978-WORLD REBELLION AGAINST U.S. RULE INTENSIFIES

(Oakland, Calif.) - The struggle of oppressed people the world over against Western racism and oppression reached new heights in 1978 with Latin America and the Middle East erupting into revolutions on the scale of the liberation struggle that has been raging in southern Africa for over a decade.

Following the January assassination of a leading critic of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza, a nationwide rebellion began that continued at year's end.

Led by the revolutionary Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), in February the Nicaraguan people staged a successful boycott of nationwide municipal elections and waged a lengthy general work strike involving some 300,000 people.

By December, the embattled Somoza declared that he favored a sweeping amnesty freeing political prisoners. The FSLN guerrilla forces, however, which are demanding the Nicaraguan dictator's resignation, rejected the amnesty offer.

1978 was a year of intensive activity on the African continent, with efforts by the U.S. and its Western allies to gain control of the Horn of Africa increasing.

Bitter fighting took place between Eritrea and Ethiopia. Eritrea has been fighting for independence from Ethiopia for 17 years and until recently, the Eritrean Peoples Liberation Front (EPLF) controlled 90 per cent of the Eritrean countryside.

However, fighting that took place between the two countries at the end of the year caused some losses for the EPLF, which continues to fight on.

The Eritrean conflict and Ethiopia's invasion of neighboring Somalia made 1978 a year of extreme turbulence for the Horn of Africa. Ethiopia maintained its invasion of Somalia was prompted by the latter's backing of the Eritrean struggle.

The erratic rule of Ugandan President Idi Amin brought his country into conflict with the socialist government of neighboring Tanzania. Uganda invaded Tanzania in November, an attack met with fierce resistance by the Tanzanian people.

As one of the frontline states that is supporting the armed liberation struggle in Rhodesia and Namibia, Tanzania was attacked as part of the Western strategy to destroy the liberation movement in southern Africa.

For the White minority regime of Rhodesian "Prime Minister" Ian Smith, 1978 was a year of numerous defeats against the victorious forces of the Patriotic Front, which is composed of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU).

In March, Smith announced an "internal settlement" for bringing Black majority rule to the former British colony. Three Black sellout leaders, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Jeremy Chirau joined Smith in establishing an interim government to rule the country until elections promised for December.

From its beginning, the interim government, which includes both Black and White officials, was a failure, with several of the Black members resigning or being fired.





(Above) Young freedom fighters of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and mass Iranian anti-Shah demonstration.

Despite continued Rhodesian massacres of civilian Black people, the Patriotic Front stepped up its armed struggle against the Smith regime and gained control of all the country except for the urban areas.

Meanwhile, in Namibia, South Africa refused to hold United Nations-supervised elections and, instead, held its own fake elections which placed a right-wing group in power. The year was highlighted by negotiations between the Southwest Africa Peoples Organization (SWAPO), recognized by the U.N. as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, with the Western powers known as the "Gang of Five" — the U.S., France, Great Britain, West Germany and Canada. The talks between SWAPO, which has been fighting South Africa since 1966, and the Western powers failed to bring a settlement.



Nicaraguan funeral procession protests Somoza regime.

The Middle East was the scene of bloody fighting throughout 1978. Palestinian guerrillas in Lebanon fought Israeli aggression in March and April prior to the much heralded "peace" agreement between Egypt and Israel engineered by the Carter administration.

At year's end, Israeli-Egyptian negotiations were stalemated. Other Arab countries vowed to resist U.S. efforts to negotiate a separate peace between Israel and Egypt.

Simultaneous with the start of the Israeli-Egyptian talks, a nationwide rebellion against the oppressive regime of the U.S.-supported regime of the shah of Iran erupted. Although thousands of Iranian students, workers and protesters were murdered by troops of the shah in the last four months of 1978, resistance to the Iranian government continued to grow at year's end. (See article, page 5.)

Culminating a series of events that have taken place over the last six years, relations between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China were normalized on January 1, 1979. Fears for the existence of the Second Workers State developed as the U.S. announced billions of dollars worth of investments in People's China. (See article, page 5.)☐

Special Feature:

"THE ATROCITY OF EDUCATION"

By Dr. Arthur Pearl CONCLUSION

From the very beginning students must be provided the following about population growth:

The 3½ billion people now overcrowding the earth will increase to over 7 billion within 40 years.

The *rate* of population growth is increasing rapidly.

Population growth is more rapid in so-called underdeveloped countries than it is in technologically advanced countries.

The very young must be told the following about consumption of resources:

The United States, with less than 6% of the world's population, uses at least 50% of the world's resources exclusive of food.

Every year there is an increase in per capita expenditure of air, water, food, and land.

Much of the per capita increase in consumption of resources is for manufacture of products which are not necessary for man's survival or even for his comfort.

Even a toddler must be aware that:

Air resources are being destroyed by automobile exhaust and other pollutants that are the result of industrial, agricultural, and irresponsible individual acts.

Water resources are being devastated by detergents, inorganic fertilizers, pesticides, nuclear-powered reactors, and industrial waste.

Space (particularly arable land) is being covered with concrete and further despoiled by litter from solid waste materials.

Students must reckon with Paul Ehrlich's three possibilities for the immediate future — two of which lead to nuclear war, the third "happy" solution being a callous participation in programs (famines, wars, and diseases) that will lead to a reduction of the world' population to 1½ billion by the year 2100 through systematic elimination of Asians, Africans, and Latin Americans.

Students at every age must accept Ehrlich's challenge and try to create alternative scenarios and defend them with logic and evidence. They must devise the tactics and strategies to implement their solutions to the environmental crisis.

At every level of school the student must grapple with:

The impact that pesticides have had on bird life, livestock, and water resources — and come up with alternatives to their current use.

The devastation that hard detergents have had on water supply, and again propose solutions.

The consequences of a dam on the Nile River to the fish population of the Mediterranean.

The impact of gasoline combustion engines on air — and what do we do about that?

The problem of storing waste from nuclear-powered electrical plants,and compare that difficulty with the problems that crop up where other efforts to generate electricity are used, and discuss alternatives to all of that.

The student has to generate plans to limit pollution, consumption of resources, and population and defend the feasibility of those plans.

And if that weren't enough he must go beyond deliberating about the threat to man's survival. He must deal with the social problems that are directly related to the ecological crisis. The student must become aware of a "social ecology," the relationship that man has with man. He must generate solutions to war! Each student must be asked to derive a theory of peace in which he stipulates the necessary conditions for a world without war, the means by which this ends can be attained and he must, in that light, assess the activity of his own and other countries as peace-preserving nations.

Race antagonisms! The student must formulate the ideal race relationship — defend that ideal in open debate and devise a plan to achieve the goal.

In much the same way the student must think through problems of sexual relationships, class antagonism, generational conflicts, and every other form of human interaction that historically has been perverted and leads to exploitation and manipulation.

Periodically students should be asked to demonstrate what has been learned. One way the student can do this is to present a plan (in some rare instances this could be a solitary effort, but almost always a team venture would be preferable) for a model community. The plan should be complete. It should include the physical as well as the social dimensions of life. The plan must be defensible ecologically. The buildings and transportation systems must respect nature's precious resources. The social, cultural, work, and political projections must protect against the usual and persistent inhumanities that men practice on other men. This plan should be defended before adult experts, architects, economists, psychologists, and the like — and before peers and more advanced students. The exchange between the student and his diverse mentors should be open, honest, and without colonial subterfuge. If pursued this could be the most valuable education the student experiences.

ECOLOGY AND THE GOALS OF EDUCATION

Many ecologists have difficulty relating their concerns to school activities. The teaching of ecology is not immune to the distortions presented in this text. And in addition there is the particular problem of failing to go beyond the description of impending doom. The implications of th.. ecological crisis to the world of work, politics, culture, and personal well-being have not been sufficiently thought through and thus discussion of the environment often is as artificial and ritualistic as any other matter deliberated in school.

ECOLOGY AND PREPARATION FOR THE WORLD OF WORK

The way work is organized in our society contributes enormously to ecological imbalance. Over the years, work and nature have become increasingly incompatible. The devotion to the notion that continued economic growth is absolutely necessary has further alienated work from a livable environment. Such a notion has justified the plundering of the earth and the destruction of its sensitive ecosystems. In fact, destruction and progress have become sysnonymous terms. Man's work requires him to ravage our resources. He plunders the earth of its water, air, iron, oil, rubber, and soil — and after he has done that to a fare-thee-well, leaving everything with unhealable scars, making his world ugly and barren, he moves on to devastate neighboring areas. We call that civilization and brag about it. Whole nations have been wiped out solely because they hadn't exploited the land to the fullest extent possible.

Sad as that is, it isn't the half of it. Even more tragic is that the worker who plunders is employed in the main to make things that are not necessary for life. The tobacco he grows, cures, manufactures into cigarettes, warehouses, transports, and sells is very likely hazardous to health. The electrically powered toothbrush or shoe-shine kit he builds requires a similar prodigal use of manpower and necessarily drain electrical energy. Those big, garish automobiles he builds and foists upon us use far more oil, iron, rubber, and glass than is necessary for convenient travel. And even those new suits and dresses he makes for us aren't necessary, since last year's purchases are still serviceable.

Through the years work has been its own justification. Only a few art and literary types corped about the philistinism inherent in the organization of work. But since their mutterings were heard only in arcane gatherings, they bothered nobody and nobody bothered them.

The Marxists were far more public in their complaints about work; they bothered and wre bothered. But their concern was almost exclusively the exploitation of the worker by capitalism. At least implicitly, Marxists believed that progress was dependent on continued economic development which, in turn, required an everincreasing depletion of the earth's resources. Other than a condemnation of the exploitative nature of private ownership the Marxists have had little to criticize about a "thing-oriented" society. They have a faith that, once profit is removed from enterprise, people will no longer desire goods they do not need. There is little evidence that such faith is warranted. Some ideologies go even farther and insist that the concern about the environment is a capitalist ploy. They argue that there is no real overpopulation problem — it is an artificial conception created by bourgeois scientists to divert the proletariat from his true revolutionary responsibility.

The technologists have also obfuscated what work must be in an ecologically balanced society. Among those most readily taken in were educators. Not too long ago *the* going myth was that work was soon to be obsolete. Machines would do all those things people through the years were forced to do. Robert Theobald was perhaps the most articulate spokesman for the new utopia. Completely ignored was the impact that automation would have on the earth's resources. Almost everyone eagerly sought that morrow when electronic wizardry would bring surcease of sorrow and bless each and every one of us. No one calculated the expense — the cost in iron, concrete, and water, and the destruction of the environment that would accompany the increased use of power (no matter what means would be used to generate it), and so it came to be that technology became our Frankenstein monster and it, probably more than anything, has led to such rapid increase in per capita

consumption of resources. Two overriding considerations must govern all references to work in school. We must stress:

1) All work must be justified. The goods and services produced must be vital for human survival or comfort, and;

2) All work must be respectful of nature's resources. The only economic system that can be applied is that which uses resources as the measure of value.

No longer can a counselor or a vocational educator defend his recommendations by saying that that's what the employers "outside" request.

Students must deliberate various approaches to work. One clear implication is that our survival as a nation and as a world depends more and more on supplanting a products-producing economy with a service-producing economy. Thus, the New Careers notion presented in Chapter III as a means of offsetting poverty and racism and at the same time generating more competent staff for health, education, and welfare, takes on an even greater significance when it is reviewed in the context of the environmental crisis.

Given the credential society, those most negatively affected by the worsening situation are forced to be its most ardent supporters. The workers in the mills, the minorities locked out of the construction trades, the mothers receiving aide for dependent children are compelled into a support of a goods-producing society. They react against their own interests because they are denied eligibility for credentials and see only traditional work as a means of escape from poverty and because they believe that the wealth of nations is calculated in the number and elegance of the things its citizens own. They have not only been educated to believe this, they have never encountered any opposing thought. They also believe that only the elite could perform as doctors, lawyers, scientists, or professors. The following anectdote illustrates how effectively people have been educated to pursue a path that can lead only to their own doom:

I decided one day to escape from the "effete corps of intellectual snobs" (my colleagues at the university) and lunch with a group of construction workers who were in the process of erecting a new law school. We got into a discussion about a proposed nuclear-powered plant and I took the position that such a development was not in the interest of the people of Oregon. They, to a man, disagreed with me.

"We can't stop progress," one said. "We need a nuclear plant because of the construction jobs it offers" and because "the new industries it attracts will bring even more jobs," said another.

There were many other comments, most of which reflected upon my questionable sanity or my alleged sexual propensities, but all contained this essential element — if there was no further development of electrical power, there would be no work for them.

I suggested that instead of their thinking of themselves as lifelong construction workers devoted to building law schools that others were educated in, why didn't they think of themselves as lawyers. I then introduced to them the notion of New Careers in law. I pointed out that it wasn't such a radical departure from history. Abraham Lincoln didn't go to law school to become a lawyer — he was able to attain that status by first being apprenticed as a law clerk and then he received his education about law. Except for some gratuitous and erroneous cracks about Lincoln's attitudes toward blacks — they couldn't respond. They had been so totally educated to believe that they were good for only certain tasks that contrary suggestion dumbfounded them. I am convinced that only when offered a real opportunity in service activities will the notion of a service-oriented society have any credibility to them or any others who share their life style.

Students must spend time in school designing ideal work situations, allocating the functions and assignments, calculating the costs, ascertaining how many persons will be employed by devising career ladders and designating the procedures that will be used for training.

Work, as we now know it, must be adjusted ecologically. Such a change, while significant and earthshaking, is not nearly sufficient. There is a companion responsibility. The planning for an ecologically balanced society makes new demands upon manpower. Population limitation is dependent upon adequate sex education, repeal of laws that prohibit abortions, universal distribution of birthcontrol devices, and provisions to impoverished populations and those victimized by racism opportunities for equal participation in our society. Each of these antidotes to overpopulation has an employment component. There is a need for staff to teach about sex, staff to provide safe and inexpensive abortions, staff to assist women *and* men in appropriate use of birth-control devices, and staff to overcome racism and poverty. Again, the student must be drawn into the planning phase and he must be prepared to work in these vital areas.

ECOLOGY AND PREPARATION FOR DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

Man's survival is a political problem. Every variable in the equation requires mobilization of a constituency and legislative, judicial, and executive decision-making. Population limitation, reduction of consumption of resources, and pollution abatement are influenced at every level of political activity. For each there must be enactment of laws, development of regulatory authorities, and appropriation of funds.

Ecologists as a group have been distressingly naive about politics. Often they have been deceived by the most unscrupulous self-seeking officeholder or office seeker. Ecologists frequently are oblivious to the fact that a politician mentioning environment or condemning pollution does not commit himself to a program for change. The same politician, without pausing for breath, will appoint the primary polluters to an environmental control board or direct funds required to overcome pollution to a less vital military project and never think twice about it. Ecologists tend to be slow movers, rousing only after considerable erosion of the environment has taken place. They don't assign politics a very high priority in their personal commitments. They are neither prepared to exercise political leadership themselves and announce for office nor are they willing to back wholeheartedly people with talent and a dedication to the environment.

Of late, ecologists have become political at least to this extent. They have sounded a clarion call. But it is easy for their impact to be muted. Ecologists lack organization. It is quite common, in any ecological controversy, to find pitted against each other two equally eminent scientists: Agronomists debate DDT's value; gynecologists, birth-control pills; physicists, nuclear-powered electrical plants; and botanists, sustained-yield timber supply programs. The debate is not only between scientists, it goes on *within* the scientists. Sometimes it is virtually impossible for the ecologist working for the government to be sure in his own mind whether he is a dupe — the window dressing for an administration that allows him to do his own insignificant thing while everyone else is involved in ransacking the earth for themselves and their friends, or whether he is the wave of the future establishing the base from which will emerge the dominant theme and features of the administration. Tortured by his doubts he cannot find solace from friends or relatives, who aren't attending because they are so busy stuffing their pockets; or from his wife, who felt from the beginning that he had sold out his integrity for an opportunity to rub shoulders with big-time operators. Worse, he knows that he can't make a decision. He has no place to go — he is on leave for a year. He has sublet his house. The children are in school. And even if he could extricate himself from all of that, there would be the questions and the need to explain that he quit and that he wasn't fired for incompetence or disloyalty. But if he did take a stand, could he ever again get a grant to do his research?

The scientist's role in government should be weighed carefully in school. In a world that depends for its survival on the availability of expert advice, the scholar must assume ever more importance in those high councils. What should be the extent of his decisionmaking? How should he be chosen? What protection should he be given from officials or opportunistic elected leaders? At what point can the public detect the real intellectual from the counterfeit? How can he overcome the deep-seated anti-intellectualism which is reflected in public distrust of eminent scholars? Students must go at these questions. They must analyze current situations, generate simulated experiences, develop models that use scientists in a variety of ways in government. These activities should, as has been suggested for everything else, be developmental. After a dozen school years the student should have advanced to a point that he could evaluate the scientist's role and be prepared to function in the lower rungs of such a career ladder.

The school must not only generate the talents and appropriate models, it must also generate public understanding. There can be no denying that the average, ordinary, run-of-the mill American citizen holds the fate of the world in his hands. Those 70 million-plus American voters who will go the polls in the next major election are likely to make it or break it for everybody. What does education do to help them choose the lady not the tiger? What school activities must be generated to prepare them for the choice that perhaps could end all other choices? What leadership can we expect from ecologists?

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"THE ATROCITY OF EDUCATION"

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Science and politics are not new to each other. Today's crisis may be more total, and disaster more imminent, but the scientist as molder of public opinion goes back a long way — and a glance at that history isn't reassuring. In fact, if the past is any guide to the future, the prospects are downright grisly. Scientists as a group have had tough sledding in poilitics. The pope crushed Galileo. Darwin couldn't hold up in Dayton, Tennessee, and he is having troubles even today in California. Sigmund Freud, for all his puritanical attitudes, was severely battered for his prurience. Even gentle Albert Einstein didn't escape unscathed. Pasteur made handwashing in hospitals a subversive activity. The tragedy is that political decisions aren't determined on the basis of scientific evidence. Political decisions are determined by mobilization of opinion through an active constituency. The best scientific argument can be a political disaster. Sure, truth wins out — in time. Galileo *was* vindicated, but first he had to pay for his revolutionary advocacy of the Copernican theory of the solar system. And the question must be raised, can we today afford to lose first and win later? Do we have the time? Many of our most concerned minds say no. What, then, can we learn from prior activities that can help us now? Is there any way that political decision-making can be more influenced by knowledge, and can this be done quickly? These are questions that need immediate answers and further study. Students had better be doing both.

Ecologists have not been much assistance in plotting the political isomorph for a living world. They haven't mocked up the model. They haven't priced out the costs to produce zero population growth, zero consumption growth, and the elimination of pollution. They haven't devised a public-eduation program. They haven't postulated the attributes required for executive, legislative, and judicial leadership in an ecologically balanced world. They haven't even assured the feasibility of proposed current solutions.

Education for political competence on the matter of man's survival must get down to some very fundamental considerations — wealth and power. There are those very high up in government who believe the environment can be saved without any fundamental change in distribution of wealth and power. They hold out the hope that survival doesn't even require any major shift in priorities. They believe that some repairs are needed — that's all. A $2-billion-a-year program can clean up the waterways. Air pollution can be solved by passing the costs on to the consumer. Solid-waste pollution can be eliminated by requiring deposits on bottles and cans. Such proposals are patently absurd. The environment, even more than the school that is a part of it, is beyond repair. At the very least, wholesale reformation must take place. There must be a total reordering of priorities. Given the urgency of the situation, a $20 billion military budget is probably more than we can afford. (And what great threat is there in a foreign power taking over the world if there is no world to take over?) There can be no hope for the world if the vast majority are denied any opportunity to influence the decisions that affect their lives. We face again the alternatives: reform or revolution. With revolution the wealthy would be removed from power and their possessions confiscated. I see no immediate hope for, or value in, revolution. I am for reform. Reform would *require* drastic overhauling of the tax structure of the society. The rich would have to shoulder the primary burden of the cost involved in survival. Rather than the consumer the persons least able to pay for pollution control — those with the strangle hold on the economy, the extremely wealthy producer — must take on that responsibility. Every tax loophole, subsidy exemption, and special-privilege allowance must be reexamined in the context of man's threatened tenure on earth. Every *penny* of governmental money not allocated for vital life-stuff production, reduction in consumption of resources, population limitation, preservation of air, water, and soil must be rerouted to where it is needed. Discussion of the alternatives of repair, revolution, and reform and what each means in distribution of wealth and power and the establishment of priorities must be the stuff that school curriculums are made of.

The politics of ecology are extremely complex. True, there are some relatively simple problems. Effective regulatory legislation with substantial staffing of executive authority can go a long way to cut down pollution. But population and consumption control are much more difficult to achieve than pollution abatement. We need much more than laws — the government must also generate a climate of hope. The bulk of the world's population is mired down in such ecological imbalance that for the perspective of those who have been "down so long" there is no possibility of going up. One political dilemma in the survival business is that ecological balance in the future is at least partially a function of concentrated efforts to achieve ecological balance today. The economically underdeveloped countries with the least capacity to produce food now have the fastest-growing populations. The people now starving cannot be expected to exhibit concern over future overpopulation when they have no future. There is no immediate political solution to ecological imbalance (apart from mass annihilation that destroys people but leaves plant life unimpared. Perhaps that is why some of our leaders insist that such horrors as nerve gas continue to be manufactured and stored in the United States). The wherewithal to feed, clothe, and house all of the world's 3½ billion people just doesn't exist. But in the absence of the current resources, there must be perceptible commitment. In place of indifference to starvation there must be a world-wide crusade to stimulate food production (without destruction of air and water resources). Political leadership must be credible. Those who are now without hope must see about them evidence that every possible effort is being made to bring the world back into ecological kilter. The leadership of the United States is incredibly uncredible. Neither Richard Nixon nor Spiro Agnew can present themselves as leaders concerned about the plight of the poor or the minorities within the United States — let alone the world. There can be no effective appeal to the blacks in the United States to join with the whites in a common cause of zero population growth when there is no visible effort to offer the blacks a fair share of employment, education, health, and housing. Expect most blacks to be unenthusiastic or apathetic to such appeals. Expect some blacks to be extremely hostile, believing the call to be a form of "genocide." Remember that the black is continually reminded that a major reason he is without political power is that he is an isolated minority and that his only political hope rests in his outbreeding the whites. Don't go to other victims of racism with your plea for smaller families and expect much support. The Mexican-American in the field doesn't want to produce fewer children. He needs every one he has to eke out his meager existence in the fields, particularly since he still is not covered by minimum-wage law, industrial accident compensation, or health statutes. The political problem of population is entwined with the age-old concerns of racism and poverty, and it is dubious if any progress can be made with the former crisis unless simultaneously there is renewed activity against those latter chronic social maladies. Here we run into an interesting phenomenon. The concern for the environment has driven out of the public eye the wars against poverty and racism. There are hardly any remnants left of the civil-rights struggles of the early 60's, and even less of value is left from the war against poverty.

Fadism should occupy considerable attention in classroom discussions of the politics of survival. Disheartenment has been the all too frequent legacy of the altruistic youngster in his political encounters. What, if anything can be done to mitigate these unwelcome consequences must be a matter for school discussions.

The solid, silent American must also be challenged in the classroom. He must at least be asked to consider whether his political success will not in the near future destroy *him.* He may continue to vote his prejudices and his candidates may gain office, but his may be the ultimate in Pyrrhic victories. He may have managed to go to hell on an eight-lane highway paved from money obtained from gasoline taxes, riding in his overpopulated, lavishly outfitted, pollution-producing handbasket.

The political mechanisms used to support a products-producing economy at the expense of a service-producing economy need to be studied thoroughly. Government isn't neutral in these matters. The automobile industry is given enormous encouragement by government. The highways are built with tax dollars, and auto travel is given a tremendous advantage over alternative forms of ground travel. Imagine how many people would be interested in buying automobiles if there were only 1890 gravel- or cobblestone-covered one-lane roads available for travel.

Consider what would happen to sales of electrical appliances if government imposed the lowest utility rates on those who used the least power and charged the highest rates for those who used the most.

Suppose government refused to allow *any* profit in military-related ventures, how interested would some of our larger private industries be in a continued increase of military expenditures?

Suppose government did not lower taxes and

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made credit more available in periods when there is diminished economic growth, what would happen to the goods-producing sector of the economy, particularly if, instead of stimulating that aspect of the economy, billions of dollars were appropriated for additional manpower in health, education, welfare, recreation, and conservation?

Suppose government, in addition to passing legislation for health services to the aged, also appropriated the funds to generate the staff and provide them with education and training in a newly designed system for delivery of services — would it then be necessary to: (1) Place a ceiling on the fees doctors charge (which will probably result in the aged getting no doctors at all); (2) Lock out minorities from equal representation in the medical services; (3) Pay the prohibitive costs of welfare, crime, and segregation that always accompanys large-scale unemployment?

Conversely, consider what would happen in a society that appropriated 50 billion dollars for hiring 8 million more teachers and these teachers would work in an educational system where man's salient concerns were discussed, significant problems were solved, and persons of every age would find ways of filing the void in their lives with something other than things? Or ponder the consequences of a cutback in governmental support for health, education, and welfare? The jobs lost in these fields can be picked only in the "thing-producing" sector of the economy; so, to forestall a recession, incentives are given to manufacturers to make things no one needs and to consumers to purchase them with little down and a long time to pay.

The government policy and program regarding consumption of resources must be studied, and students should be able to intelligently address the issue and formulate a plan in which the government reinforces a healthy economy without encouraging the destruction of nature.

The ecological crisis forces us to reexamine the nature and extent of rights in a free society. In Chapter IV I questioned the school's activity with respect to traditional rights. It appears that survival depends upon an extension of the concept of individual rights. There is a need for guarantees now that were unnecessary in the past. Man did not need a right to breathe clean air or be free from somebody else's garbage. He did not need protection against overcrowding. He did not need assurance that there would be water to drink. Those rights are needed now. Currently in Congress there is a variety of proposed constitutional amendments to extend the concept of rights. Similar discussion needs to be taking place in the schools. A good takeoff might be the rights Paul Ehrlich lists on the back cover of his book *Population Bomb*. He comes up with this proposal of "mankind's inalienable rights":

1) The right to eat well.
2) The right to drink pure water.
3) The right to breathe clean air.
4) The right to decent, uncrowded shelter.
5) The right to enjoy natural beauty.
6) The right to avoid regimentation.
7) The right to avoid pesticide poisoning.
7) The right to freedom from thermonuclear war.
9) The right to limit families.
10) The right to educate our children.
11) The right to have grandchildren.

These rights need to be debated. Machinery needs to be developed for their implementation. Model communities need to be established where these rights are respected and studies made of the impact that such guarantees have on interpersonal behavior and social organization.

ECOLOGY AND CULTURE-CARRYING COMPETENCE

Added to the stupidities students are educated for must be education about environment. Part of the destruction of the environment stems from stupidity about "economics," "war," "Communism," "racism," and "poverty." But over and beyond that there is the specific stupidity that comes from not analyzing the consequences of economic advancement. Students are taught not to analyze consequences. And this lesson may well be our undoing.

Now contemplate — we did not set out to destroy our world. Whatever other intentions those who led in the shaping of our destiny had, it was not to rob the earth of everything valuable. Each one of our esteemed leaders of industry had heard about that fool who killed his goose that laid golden eggs, and each one *knew* that that allegorical tale did not apply to *him*. Those advocates of nuclear electrical plants may be power-mad, but they really believe "electricity builds progress." Those automobile manufacturers don't really want to pollute air and space. The chemical magnates who developed pesticides didn't have in mind the extermination of sea birds — nor did they desire to make water undrinkable through nonbiodegradable detergents. Very few among us anticipated such horrible consequences. (I think back now on my activity on behalf of fluorides in the water and wince.)

The single most glaring deficiency of the school curriculum is the absence of discussion about possible effects of different courses of action. It is only in areas of minimal controversy that anything resembling such discussion takes place and that discussion is both banal and nontransferable to matters of ecological importance.

Schools fail to generate culture-carrying competence in yet another way. The formal school program does not assist the student to distinguish a stupid question from an intelligent question. The idea that a truly educated person is one who can phrase and defend his questions doesn't penetrate into the school. We haven't even developed a system to evaluate answers — and this is less a measure of the quality of intellectual performance than it is a measure of conformity. Answers are evaluated favorable if they coincide with the authority. The threat to survival provides both a basis for evaluating the importance of a question and the impetus to a change in educational orientation. The immediacy of extinction can and must tolerate stupid questions. We must, in the name of survival, discourage economists, for example, from asking the inane question, "Won't a full-employment economy lead to inflation?" and get them instead to ask the intelligent question, "How do I devise a full-employment economy that is not inflationary?" The first question leads inevitably to answers which are geared to a products-producing economy and to juggling interest and tax rates and to defining the government as employer of the last resort. The second question leads to development of new categories of workers; new kinds of delivery systems for human services, updating of training; career ladders; and government as employers of the first resort. I really don't have to tell you that the economists who are influencing government policy are asking the stupid questions and are even doing a dreadful job of answering them.

The culture-carrying competence for human survival requires all that was described in Chapters VI and VII. Unless there are universal broad-based communication skills and unless there are historical perspectives and universal sophistication about biology, other sciences, and mathematics, we are finished. But that alone would give the whole of education a pragmatic cast that would carry it far off its desired course. And that, too, would be an example of how lack of concern for consequences leads to disastrous ends. We have generated a way of life in which we are dependent on "things" for enjoyment. This way of life feeds upon itself and grows larger and more controlling. It is never enough to prohibit or restrict a way of life. It is also necessary to offer a substitute way and to provide the support during the tenuous period of changeover. A request from the President to buy less or stay home or stop smoking would have at best a transient effect. And this would be true if HE, too, "brought less," "stayed home," and "stopped smoking." If buying, touristing, and smoking are all people know how to do, that is what they will do. Conversion to a new way of life requires dedicated leadership, well-thought-through programs, *and* large-scale investment of funds. The alternative to a goods-oriented society is one in which people can derive gratifications from social projects and from art, music, literature, and the theater. The decline in the importance of active participation on the performing arts leaves people no alternative but to be sucked into a mire of "things." This point, which should be obvious, is continually missed.

Only if proposals advanced throughout this book are put into effect — only with the development of artists in residence in every city, only with the support of people as *participants* in leisure, only as schools become lifelong, around-the-clock-operations can people renounce a way of life that is dedicated to consuming the earth's resources and embrace a way of life that is harmonious with nature.

Every "traditional" educational activity can be translated into something that has ecological validity. It is the perversion of liberal arts education into its current ritualisms and formalisms that has divested it of vitality and has driven people into wasting nature. Twelfth Century French Poetry can have ecological importance if it is "taught" in such a way that it has a sustaining effect on a way of life. If the student of Twelfth Century French Poetry can gain through experiences a sense of competence, belonging, and usefulness, he could give up that extra, large automobile or that electrical appliance or that trip to Hawaii which had no purpose other than to generate something to talk about with friends and members of the club.

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ECOLOGY AND INTER- AND INTRAPERSONAL COMPETENCE

A society which has developed a culture, a politics, and a work world disrespectful of nature has a devastating impact on the individual. The dynamic interrelationship between the four educational goals has been emphasized throughout this book. Man out of harmony with nature has to be out of harmony with himself and his fellows. Martin Buber has emphasized that human relationships become distorted from a human "I-Though" to an impersonal "I-It". Ecological imbalance forces us to regard others as Its. The three scenarios Paul Ehrlich presents leave no alternatives but to regard the victims of nuclear holocaust or continent-wide starvation as "Its." The dehumanization of man is partially a function of a world out of harmony with nature. But it works the other way also. A culture that has become preoccupied with "things" shapes the nature of human identity and relationships. It is very difficult for a person to escape the life style that every social institution defines for him. Martin Buber, while he touches on it, doesn't emphasize sufficiently how dependent on things we as persons are. We don't even have I-It relationships. We have "thing-thing" relationships in which my things come in contact with your things. The most gratifying encounter our society has fashioned is an automobile accident. Through an automobile accident, intensive involvements are generated. The accident inspires social definition, status, unending conversation, activities with doctors, insurance adjustors, police, garage attendants, friends, and relatives. Seriously, though, for many persons, an automobile provides the only mechanism for a sense of competence, a sense of belonging, and even a sense of usefulness.

A society in which we define ourselves by our possessions needs considerable study and analysis. We are shaped by our goods-orientation, partly because of a lack of development of inter- and intrapersonal competence; "goods" fill a void. But partly, also, the goods are a protection against threats to security which are real and external to the person. Affluence is only one face of America's life style. The side it doesn't show to itself is fear that prosperity is ephemeral and failure is impending. We have built very little security into our society. The income of older people can be wiped out by inflation and property-tax increase. Sickness can bring about financial ruin. An accident can economically devastate a family. When a person surrounds himself with much more than he needs (and by so doing extracts more from the environment than is necessary) he is, given the realities of this world, purchasing a form of insurance against calamity. Students must question what would happen to life style if an old age of threat-free leisure was guaranteed, if every citizen had a right to health care, and if there was full employment plus.

The person who is inter- and intrapersonally competent is also a person who is compatible with nature — and the student who is involved in experimenting with the variety of selves he can be comfortable being must always evaluate those selves against the backdrop of ecology.

HOW MANY ADMINISTRATORS DOES IT TAKE TO GET A POUND OF BRAINS?

Some critics of education feel that we can eliminate administrators and that education will not be worse off for their departure. This is a theme that both Dennison, in his book *Lives of Children*, and Postman and Weingartner in *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* stress. Certainlywe do not need the type of administrators that now predominate in education. The current administrator is not an educational leader; he is much more a businessman in a sheepskin. And those who dictate eduational policy, the business-dominated boards, decree that that's how it ought to be.

Tough-minded businessmen have always leaped to the conclusion that fuzzy-minded idealists muddle education because they lack the reality orientation of tough-minded businessmen. This theme crops up periodically in education and it goes something like this — if only we ran our schools like we run our businesses we would be out of trouble! The problem is just the opposite. It is the business ideology that has gotten education into its greatest difficulty.

Raymond Callahan, in a bitter denunciation, summarizes the damage the business mentality has inflicted on education:

"The tragedy itself was fourfold, that educational questions were subordinated to business considerations, that administrators were produced who were not in any true sense educators. That a scientific label was put on some very unscientific and dubious methods and practices and that an anti-intellectual climate already prevalent was strengthened. As the business and industrial values and procedures spread into the thinking and acting of educators countless education decisions were made on economic or on noneducational grounds.

The whole development produced men who did not understand education or scholarship; thus they could and did approach education in a businesslike, mechanical, oranizational way. They saw nothing wrong with imposing impossible loads on high school teachers because they were not students or scholars and did not understand the need for time for study and preparation, the training had been superficial and they saw no need for depth or scholarship. These were men who, when designing a college, provided elaborate offices for the president and the dean and even an elaborate student center but also crammed six or eight professors in a single office and provided a library which would have been adequate for a secondary school. They saw schools not as centers of learning but as enterprises which were functioning efficiently if the students went through without failing and received their diplomas on schedule and if the operation were handled economically."

Callahan traces the route of educational interest to the all powerful efficiency deity. Under the auspicies of "scientific management," educational leadership became somewhat ineffectual in the first three decades of the twentieth century. But with courageous leadership there was a brief rally against this influence in the 1930's and 40's; now with a renewed onslaught, the position and condition of educational leadership may have plumbed to its nadir. Business was not in such a good position in the 30's that it could present itself as a model to the American people. As Babe Ruth commented, when questioned whether it was right for him to make more money than President Hoover, "But Hoover didn't have a very good year." The same factors which led to the destruction of educational leadership then still prevail. Callahan cites the following as factors which were more than education could handle:

Undoubtedly the sheer number of students to be educated, plus the great moral commitment to educate all the children to the limit of their ability, would have created stubborn educational problems even if Americans and their educational administrators had not been economy-minded and had not developed a mechanical conception of the nature of education. But fifteen years of admiration for the mass production techniques of industry on the one hand and saturation with the values of efficiency and economy on the other had so conditioned the American people and their school administrators that they allowed their high school teachers to be saddled with an impossible heavy teaching load. The American people not only allowed this to happen but their insistence on economy forced it upon the schools. And just as some of the leading school administrators did not repel but actually *invited* lay interference, they not only did not resist this increase in class size but actually initiated the steps, advocated and defended them, and put them into effect.

Conditions are worse now. The problems to be overcome are even more complicated. Funds are more difficult to come by, sources are more diverse, and the procedures necessary to obtain these funds are increasingly more cumbersome. The cost of education continues to increase. The lay public is more demanding but not better informed. Students are more unruly. The "sheer numbers to be educated" have increased. The moral commitment to educate everyone has been joined by an economic necessity. The additional problems brought on by technology and urbanized society have brought with them problems of interpersonal relationships that confound education and perplex educators.

For the new issues as well as for the old, those that lead in education offer only the same tired old declarations of faith. At a time in history when business must look to education for its leadership, there still is a devotion to the principle that ignorance should govern education. And yet on reflection, how could it be otherwise? In the absence of precise goals, how can education be intelligently evaluated? And what standards can be used to judge programs or leadership? Under those conditions, efficiency seems to be as good as any other standard for judging education.

The administrator, to be an effective educational leader, must have attitudes similar to those described for effective teachers — only more so. He must be trustworthy. Teachers must see in him a person willing to stand on principle and willing to bear the brunt

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of the attack. The lack of such leadership — the philosophy of "loyal-up-loyal-down," which simply means the administator backs only persons who mindlessly follow him — is the antithesis of trustworthiness. At the present time the typical administrator communicates to teachers that "You can do anything you want, as long as you do not get in trouble, and, if you do get in trouble, don't look for much help from me." A trustworthy administrator would make clear how far he would go in the defense of his staff, the extent and nature of activities he is going to defend, and the behaviors he will not tolerate. He will use educational goals as guidelines for these discussions.

The administrator must defend his right to lead. He, like teachers, can justify his position only if he has something valuable to share. An incompetent educational hack who has risen to his station according to Peter's Principle of Incompetence makes a mockery of educational leadership. An administrator who attempts to placate all educational factions by being all things to all people makes a mockery of educational leadership. An administrator who uses "lack of unity" as an excuse for indecisiveness makes a mockery of educational leadership. A lot of people are drawing substantial salaries making a mockery of educational leadership.

To justify his existence as an educational leader the administrator must convince those he leads (primarily teachers) that what he has to offer is valuable. Then he must demonstrate that he has it. He must be able to assist teachers to gain competence. He must demonstrate the ability to keep the school on the path to its defined goals. He must have the leadership capacity to keep a diverse group functioning as a unit while, at the same time, he encouraged pluralism (and that is no mean trick). He must be able to stand firmly against anti-intellectual attacks both in and outside the industry. He must mobilize a constituency of support. He must demonstrate, either personally or by delegation, teaching that is relevant. He must generate a relationship between himself and his staff that serves as a model for teacher-student relationships.

The administrator, in addition to defending his right to his position, must also communicate what he has to offer in a language that is readily understood. Imprecise expression that obfuscates intent destroys the relationship between administrator and staff exactly as teacher-student communication is hampered. An administrator complained to me recently that he just couldn't understand why his staff doesn't understand his motives or his directions. He trotted out dozens of possible explanations for the phenomenon, all of which he analyzed, but he rejected without even cursory examination the most obvious explanation — that he was misunderstood because he had done a miserable job of explaining his position.

And finally, the educational leader-administor must be "hip." He must be aware that even if he did all that he contracted to do he would still have some staff holding back. Even the most competent educational leader will not be able to inspire everyone. There are those who, with every assistance offered, will still be unable to derive competence, belonging, and usefulness from his endeavors. There will be others who are affronted by the administrator's style or his relationship with other staff. If he is truly "hip," he can smooth over the estrangement by making appropriate adjustments.

A smattering of administrators are educational leaders. They demonstrate that effective administration is possible! More real educational leaders will emerge as leadership is linked to educational activity and solution is based on precisely delineated attributes rather than on seniority, formal degrees, and demonstrated harmlessness. If educational goals are kept salient, far more administrators who are educational leaders will be selected than is currently the case.

Aimlessness of education has led to perversion of leadership, but the structure has also impeded responsible leadership. There is no need for huge, impersonal educational bureaucracies. No educational unit need be larger than a staff of twenty, serving no more than 200 students. One building complex could have a dozen autonomous "schools" that shared the library, the theater, the computer, the gymnasium, and the electronic equipment. The central office coordination ought never be "over" the school administration. To the contrary, such staff, whose legitimate role is only to provide technical assistance and consultation, should be subordinate to the staff in the school. School organizations have grown to their elephantine proportions because there has been no rationale for school organization. The absence of goals leads ineluctably to gargantuan bureaucracy and to the emulation of business bureaucracy. All of these gross distortions preclude the possibility of educational leadership in any metropolis — so none now exists there. Big-city problems will not be solved by supertalented administrators, but will be found in decentralization of authority; this is possible if there is unanimity about the goals of education.

School organization into small, manageable units eliminates any need for school board control. Once the units are small, the community as a whole can be the responsive decision-making authority. Crucial matters can be referred to community meetings and referendums. That this doesn't become a repressive anti-intellectual intrusion depends on the education that the community receives — and since this is one of the many places we entered, it seems like a good place to end.

MINI EPILOGUE

The battle is joined between those who would reform education and those who stand pat. I am with the reformers, whereas Max Rafferty is representative of the stay-putters. He will insist that education must be tradition and ritual. He will be persuasive. He will be deceptive and sometimes he may even say something that is supportable. I found that I can agree with Max Rafferty on one point. He identified, as two of the leaders of twentieth century education, Walt Disney and Al Capp. I can't go along with Rafferty on Walt Disney. To me, Disney typified an adulteration of education. He substituted technical skill for intellectual depth. He reduced his efforts to an absolute of educational irrelevance — devoid of any reference to work, politics, culture, or personal growth. But when Max Rafferty, in his praise of Al Capp, argued that if Aristophanes were alive today he would be authoring Li'l Abner — I found myself in total agreement. If Aristophanes were alive today he would be over twenty-four hundred years old and probably too senile for anything better.

There is no good way to end a book. Neither bangs nor whimpers help much. And contrary to Rupert Brooke, this *is* the appointed end — and nowhere beyond space or time is there wetter water and slimier slime. Sure, there is much left to be said and some things could have been embroidered, and some other things explicitly promised were probably only inferred, and with still other things the reader was provided with more than he wanted to know. So be it. Amen. Shalom. □

Iranian Revolutionary Leader

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present century, by the gross misconduct of various regimes. Corrupt regimes have destroyed our wealth and resources by pouring them into the pockets of foreigners as well as those Iranians that have served them.

The second stage will consist of a complete purge from all ministries, goverment offices and private and government institutions, self-seeking and parasitic individuals, and entrusting responsibility to capable, patriotic and trustworthy people.

Superfloous branches of government and institutions that fulfill no useful function for the country and have been created merely for the benefit of a few unqualified people will be abolished. Extravagant expenditures that have dislocated the country's budget will also be brought to an end.

Other stages of gradual reform will then follow. But to attain those stages and to form an Islamic government, it is necessary first to remove the great obstacle that the Pahlavi dynasty constitutes. It will not be possible to undertake any reform so long as the Shah and his relatives are there.

Q: How far do you think you will be able to mobilize the people?

KHUMAYNI: Until we attain our Islamic and human goals, the people will feel threatened with extinction, and will consider Islam and their Islamic country to be on the verge of destruction. The people have become aroused by the actions of the Shah's regime which are swiftly leading to the destruction of Islam and the country.

The religious leaders, the politicians and the intellectuals are constantly summoning the people to struggle against corruption, and the people, responding to their call, will remain faithful to their Islamic movement until foreign domination and the greed of parasites are decisively repelled from Iran.

Q: How is it that the people pour into the streets in such large numbers in answer to your calls?

KHUMAYNI: It is because the nation regards us as servants of Islam and the nation. We give voice to concerns that have lain dormant in our people for years, and we are thus enabled to be the spokesman for the demands of the people.

At the same time, all that they have experienced at the hands of the Shah's regime and the government has been against the interests of Islam and the nation. The unprecedented demonstrations of the last few months in answer to our call have been popular and Islamic demonstrations. All segments of the population participate in them, and they have actually been like a referendum against the government, declaring its repression to be illegal.

TO BE CONTINUED

28 BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS MURDERED BY U.S. GOVERNMENT

Long before Peoples Temple came under government attack, the Black Panther Party was subjected to hundreds of police raids and shootings, unjustified arrests and imprisonments in its chapters and branches across the country. No political organization in the history of America has been subjected to such intense surveillance and harassment as the BPP, harassment that stretches over the 12 years of the Party's existence.

The following article, of which the conclusion follows, is a tribute to the Fallen Comrades of the Black Panther Party.

CONCLUSION



NATHANIEL CLARK
Assassinated:
September 12, 1969

Nathaniel Clark was a member of the Southern California Chapter of the BPP. Nathaniel was murdered in his sleep by a police agent.



WALTER "TOURE" POPE
Assassinated:
October 18, 1969

Toure was singled out for special and constant harassment by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) because of his effectiveness as distribution manager of THE BLACK PANTHER in southern California. He was brutally gunned down by the LAPD metro squad in broad daylight as he left a store where he had just dropped off some newspapers.



SPURGEON "JAKE" WINTERS
Assassinated:
November 13, 1969

Spurgeon, 19, worked in the Chicago BPP Chapter's Free Breakfast Program for Schoolchildren, Free Health Clinic and was part of the Education Cadre. He was killed when 100 policemen opened fire on him and Lance Bell, who was wounded. Three policemen were killed and seven wounded in the attack on the deserted building where the two took refuge.





FRED HAMPTON **MARK CLARK**
Assassinated: Decmeber 4, 1969

Fred organized the Illinois Chapter of the BPP in Chicago in 1968. Mark Clark was a leader of the Peoria, Illinois, Branch of the Party. In December, 1969, Mark made a trip to Chicago and along with several other Party members stayed at Fred's apartment. In the early morning hours of December 4, Chicago police, in a well coordinated plot with the FBI, raided the Westside Chicago apartment. Mark was murdered by the police raiders as they crashed through the apartment door, shooting. Fred was shot to death as he slept, having been drugged by FBI informant William O'Neal.



STERLING JONES
Assassinated:
December 25, 1969

Sterling, a member of the Illinois BPP Chapter, was shot directly in the face by an unknown assailant. Murdered at his home, Sterling was cut down 21 days after the assassinations of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.



BABATUNDE X OMARWALI
Assassinated:
July 27, 1970

Babatunde was a member of the Illinois Chapter. Shortly after he returned to Chicago from organizing a National Committee to Combat Fascism office in the Cairo-Carbondale, Illinois, area, the remains of the 26-year-old Babatunde were "found" lying across railroad tracks in a deserted area of the city by Chicago police. Although Babatunde's body was mutilated beyond recognition by a bomb, the Chicago police who murdered him "positively" identified the body.



CARL HAMPTON
Assassinated:
July 28, 1970

Carl was the leader of the People's Party II, an organization in Houston, Texas, which followed the example and policies of the BPP. Culminating a series of incidents, Houston police surrounded the Dowling Street area where the People's Party II office was located, and attacked the entire community. Carl was killed in the early morning hours in defense of the office.



JONATHAN JACKSON
Assassinated:
August 7, 1970

The brother of BPP Field Marshal George Jackson, 17-year-old Jonathan, armed with a shotgun, entered the Marin County Courthouse near San Quentin Prison where George was incarcerated and interrupted court proceedings involving three Black inmates charged with shooting a White guard. As Jonathan attempted to free the prisoners, he, two of the inmates and a Marin County judge were killed in a hail of police bullets.



FRED BENNETT
Assassinated:
February, 1971

Pieces of the body of Fred were found in April, 1971, in a mountainous region near Oakland, California. Fred had been missing since February when his mutilated body was "found" by police.



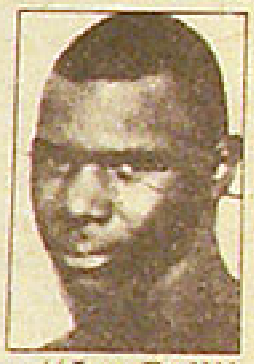
SAMUEL NAPIER
Assassinated:
April 17, 1971

Sam, dedicated national distribution manager of THE BLACK PANTHER, was murdered in a Party distribution office in New York City by renegade Party members who claimed allegiance to Eldridge Cleaver and "defected" from the Party. The assassins tied Sam to a chair in the basement of the office, shot him point blank in the head, and then set fire to the building in an effort to cover up their crime.



GEORGE JACKSON
Assassinated:
August 21, 1971

A legend in the U.S. prison system, George was murdered at San Quentin Prison, the victim of an FBI, California law enforcement conspiracy. Revered by Black and poor inmates throughout America for his outspoken stand against the brutality of U.S prisons and the oppression of American capitalism, George was murdered to silence his voice, a voice that speaks today in the countless prison revolts across America.



JOSEPH WADDELL
Assassinated:
June 13, 1972

Joseph, known as "Joe-Dell" to his friends and comrades, was at Central Prison in Raleigh, North Carolina, serving a 25-30-year sentence on trumped-up charges of armed robbery when he was murdered by prison officials. The cause of death was given as a "heart attack."



CINDY SMALLWOOD
Died:
February 4, 1973

Cindy was a tireless worker in THE BLACK PANTHER distribution department. While driving a passenger van late at night from Richmond, California, to Oakland, Cindy ran into an embankment and was thrown out of the vehicle, critically injured. Three days later she was pronounced dead.



BRUCE "DEACON" WASHINGTON
Assassinated:
October 26, 1974

Deacon died as a result of gunshot wounds he received in the back while attempting to protect and save the lives of a number of children at a teen dance held at the Oakland Community Learning Center in Oakland. Deacon was murdered by agents of the Oakland Police Department (OPD) in an attempt to discredit and destroy the Black Panther Party.